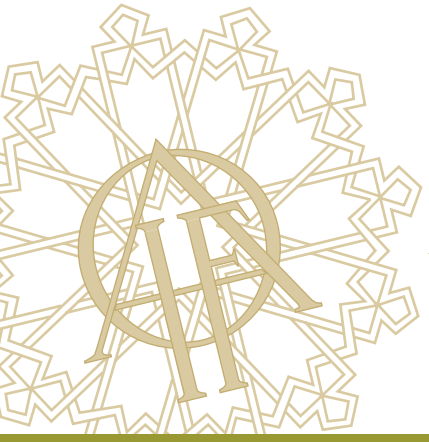
MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION NATIONALE, DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR ET DE LA RECHERCHE



ANNALES ISLAMOLOGIQUES

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98

FERNANDES (Leonor)

Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724707021	*Adaïma III*	Eric Crubezy
9782724706536	*Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Ifao, 6e éd.*	Bernard Mathieu
9782724707120	*BIFAO 116*	
9782724706963	*Collective Baths in Egypt 2*	Berangère Redon
9782724707076	*Athribis III*	Christian Leitz, Daniela Mendel
9782724707007	*MIDEO 32*	
9782724707069	*Le journal de Merer*	Pierre Tallet
9782724706932	*Fustat II*	Roland-Pierre Gayraud, Lucy Vallauri

© Institut français d'archéologie orientale - Le Caire

MAMLUK POLITICS AND EDUCATION: THE EVIDENCE FROM TWO FOURTEENTH CENTURY WAQFIYYA

Leonor FERNANDES

Shortly before the fall of the Fatimids and the establishment of the Sunni Ayyubid rule in Egypt, the founder of their dynasty, Salāḥ al-Dīn, was working on bringing the country back into the mainstream of Sunni Islam — ultimately proclaiming its allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad [1].

Even before he had seized total control of the country, it was clear from the policy of the future ruler that he was determined to use all means at his disposal, including religion, to reach his goal.

Once he had secured the rule for himself, Salāḥ al-Dīn moved to consolidate this rule by winning the support of the religious « elite ». As a result of this, he, and later his successors initiated a policy whereby religious foundations were officially put to the service of the « state ». Among such foundations, and by far the most important at that early stage of the rule, were those reserved for institutions dispensing religious education, namely : madrasa-s.

The new rulers embarked on a campaign aiming at building a number of madrasa-s, first outside al-Qāhira proper, and then within the capital itself. As a result, in the short period of forty years, and in Cairo only, about twenty madrasa-s for one or two schools of law were built [2].

The first two madrasa-s built by Salāḥ al-Dīn were located outside al-Qāhira nearby the Ǧāmiʿ al-ʿAtīq in Fusṭāṭ — the earliest of the two being reserved for the Shafiʿi maḏhab (school of law), while the other was for the Maliki.

Six years later in 572/1176, the Ayyubid ruler decided to build a madrasa for the Hanafi-s — the madrasa al-Suyūfiyya — in al-Qāhira proper, on the site of a famous Fatimid palace : the Dār al-Wazīr Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾihī. One should note however, that the

[1] I. Lapidus. « Ayyubid Religious Policy and Development of the Schools Law in Cairo », *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire (1969)*, Cairo, 1972, pp. 279-286.

[2] For further information about Ayyubid madrasa-s, cf. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ waʾl-iʿtibār fī ḏikr al-ḫiṭaṭ waʾl-āṯār*, (reprint of Bulaq, 1972), II, 363-368.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

madrasa al-Suyūfiyya was not the first one built in the Fatimid capital. Indeed, two years earlier an emir of Salāḥ al-Dīn had built a madrasa — the madrasa al-Qutbiyya — for the Shafi'i maḏhab.

All of the above foundations were endowed with considerable waqf-s, the revenues of which paid for the salaries and stipends of their appointees, as well as for the maintenance of the buildings.

The building of such foundations had enabled the ruler first to identify himself with the two prevailing maḏhab-s, Shafi'i and Maliki-s, and secondly to rally around him both the population which was largely Shafi'i and the religious « elite », whose salary depended on the waqf-s.

Although the Ayyubids themselves were primarily Ḥanafī-s, they refrained from openly sponsoring that particular school of law. On the contrary, they made sure that the Shafi'i-s' predominant position over the other schools of law was clearly established from the very beginning of their rule. Indeed, right after he had seized power, Salāḥ al-Dīn dismissed all the Shi'ite Qāḍī-s and appointed a Shafi'i — Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Malik b. Idris al-Marīdānī — as sole Qāḍī al-Qūḍāt, with a number of Shafi'i Qāḍī-s acting as his deputies; two to represent him in the various districts of upper und lower Egypt [1]. The predominance of the Shafi'i-s prevailed at least until the beginning of the Mamluk period, when things began to change.

Reflecting on the reasons why the Shafi'i-s should prevail, al-Suyūṭī, who writes at the end of the fifteenth century says : « Ibn al-Subkī said that whenever a country like Egypt, al-Šām or al-Ḥiğāz was ruled by those who were other than Shafi'i, it was destroyed; and whenever their rulers were not followers of al-Shafi'i, their country suffered destruction, their rule ended abruptly, or they were killed ». This says al-Suyūṭī, is because God seemed to have secretly entrusted those countries to the Shafi'i-s just as He had entrusted the Maghrib to the Maliki-s and Transoxiana to the Hanafi-s [2].

With the advent of the Mamluks, the prevailing situation was soon to be upset. Indeed, shortly after he was proclaimed sultan, Baybars al-Bunduqdārī decided to nominate three new Qādī al-Quḍāt to represent the three remaining maḏhab-s — the Hanafi, the Maliki, and the Hanbali — and rule side by side with the Shafi'i Qāḍī [3]; a move which he supposedly had regretted after Imam al-Shafi'i had appeared to him in a dream telling

[1] *Ibid.*, 343.

[2] Al-Suyūṭī. *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* (Bulaq, 1881), II, 132.

[3] Maqrīzī. *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 344; al-Suyūti, *Tā'rīḫ al-Ḫulafā'* (Cairo, 1976), p. 762.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

him » (how dare) you humiliate my maḏhab and the country is mine ! » [1]. This alleged remorse of Baybars was evidently not too deep since he did not do anything to reverse the power of the three Quḍāt al-Quḍāt.

One has to admit however, that despite this radical change of policy towards the Shafi'i-s, it is surprising to see that in madrasa-s founded during the early Bahri period, Shafi'i-s were still given preferential treatment, and that in important religious foundations, positions such as *ḫaṭīb* or *imām* were still reserved for individuals of that maḏhab. In addition, in madrasa-s built for more than one maḏhab, the privilege of sitting in the Qibla Īwān for the lesson was reserved for the Shafi'i teacher.

Some of the privileges enjoyed by the Shafi'i Quḍāt al-Quḍāt were, by and large retained by them, until the end of the Mamluk period. Many of these privileges were purely ceremonials while others gave them control over the financial interests of the community — a matter which sometimes involved large sums of money and promoted fraud. Hence, the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Shafi'i was left to control the *Awqāf,* the orphans' monies and the Bayt al-Māl. Among some of the ceremonial privileges enjoyed by the Shafi'i Qāḍī al-Quḍāt were : he was to wear the *Ṭarḥa* (a kind of head veil) during the *ḫidma* (sessions where the court of justice was held). Likewise he was given precedence over the other qādī-s since he was seated first in order, to the right of the sultan [2].

While the Shafi'i-s retained, if not in reality, at least in appearance, their preponderance, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, there is a definite shift in the Mamluk policy with regards to religious educational foundations whereby the Hanafi-s and most commonly non-Egyptians (Persians and Turks) were given preferential treatment.

While some royal foundations such as the madrasa-mosque of Sultan Ḥasan (755-64 / 1356-62) [3] were still reserving the most prestigious and/or better paid positions to the Shafi'i-s, there soon appeared a number of foundations — madrasa-s, ḫanqah-madrasa-s — where Hanafi-s were clearly in favor.

Two of the most interesting foundations of the second half of the fourteenth century will best illustrate the shift in policy of the Mamluks. In fact, they show clearly the new direction given to religious foundations and the place they had in the political scheme of the military elite.

The two foundations, the madrasa of Sirġatmiš (757/1356) and the madrasa of Itmiš/ Aytmiš al-Baǧāsī (785/1383) will be examined here in the light of their waqfiyya.

[1] Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍara* II, 132-133.

[2] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 208-209.

[3] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 316-317, Huǧǧat Waqf al-Sulṭan Ḥasan, Maḥkama 365, dated 760 H.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

Madrasa of Emir Sirġatmiš (index 218) [1]

The positions, salaries and stipends of the appointees to the madrasa are specified as follows :

	Position	Salary [2] and Remunerations [3]
1	Hanafi Faqīh, teacher	300 d., 5 r. soap, 5 r. oil, 5 r. sugar for Ramadan, 60 d. for ʿĪd al-Aḍḥā, 12 d. for grapes and watermelon in season.
3	Hanafi Faqīh-s/Muʿīd	70 d., 2 r. for soap, 2½ r. oil, 3 r. sugar for Ramadan, 6 d. for watermelon and grapes.
60	Hanafi students	55 d., 2 r. soap, 2½ r. oil, 2 r. sugar for Ramadan, 3 d. for watermelon and grapes.
2	Hanafi-s (from students/ Naqīb/Mufarriq Rubʿa	5 d. in addition to what they receive as students.
1	Hanafi, Imām	70 d. and 200 d. for Ramadan.
1	Hadith teacher	150 d. [4]
15	Hadith students	25 d.
48	Muqri' for Qubba	
	28 morning	28 d.
	20 night	20 d.
2	Mu'aḏḏin-s	30 d.
4	Farrāš-s	30 d.
1	Attendant for Muzammala	10 d. in addition to his salary as farrāš.
2	Qayyim-s	30 d.
2	Bawwāb-s	30 d.
2	Attendant for Mīḍāʾa	30 d.
2	Ḫādim/Zimām	70 d.
1	Hanafi, Ḫāzin al-Kutub	50 d.
1	Sawwāq for Sāqiya	40 d.

[1] Ḥuġġat waqf al-Amīr Sirġatmiš, Awqaf 3195, dated 757 H. See also ʿAbd al-Latīf Ibrahīm, « Naṣṣān Ǧadīdān min waṯīqat al-Amīr Sirġatmiš », *Maġallat Kulliyyat al-Adab*, 27, part 1-2 (Cairo, 1965).

[2] Salaries and stipends are distributed monthly and are paid in dirham nuqra (d.).

[3] Oil, sugar, bread, and soap are paid in raṭl miṣrī (r.). Oil and soap are distributed monthly : bread is distributed daily.

[4] This reading differs from that given by ʿAbd al-Latif Ibrāhīm (*Naṣṣān Ǧadīdān*, 149), who reads it as 100 d.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

	Position	Salaries and Remunerations
40	Orphans	1/6 d., 2 r. bread, clothing.
1	Mu'addib	40 d., 4 r. bread.
1	ʿArīf	15 d., 2 r. bread.
1	Šāhid	60 d.
1	Kātib/Ǧābī	100 d.
1	Nāẓir	200 d.

The information provided by the waqfiyya indicates that the primary goal of the madrasa was to foster the teachings of the Hanafi school of law, and while Hadith was taught in the madrasa, its importance was to remain marginal. Hence, the number of Hanafi students is four times that of Hadith students and the salaries and stipends of Hanafi appointees — teachers and students, are double. Other details in the document reveal the exclusive character of the foundation. For instance, when specifying the responsibilities incumbent on the Imām, who had to be Hanafi, the waqfiyya indicates that the five daily prayers were to be attended by the Hanafi-s; Hadith students had to go to the Ǧamiʿ of Ibn Ṭulūn — adjacent to the madrasa — for their prayer. Likewise the mu'aḏḏīn-s, who repeated the call for prayer had to say the *takbir al-Ḥanafiyya.* As expected in such a foundation, living accommodations were provided for the students, and once more it is to the Hanafi-s that they are distributed.

However, the most interesting and perhaps most revealing clause of the waqfiyya is the one concerned with qualifications for the selection of the 60 students to be appointed to the madrasa. Accordingly, the selected individuals had to be Hanafi-s and in addition, they had to be *min al-Ṭalaba al-Ḥanafiyya al-Ġurabā';* i.e. they had to be foreigners.

Finally, a last minor detail but one which nonetheless points to the definite Hanafi favoritism of the founder, is his specific indication that in the event of the extinction of members of his family and his descendants, the control of his waqf-s should revert to the *Ḥākim al-muslimīn al-Ḥanafī al-maḏhab.*

The second foundation to be examined here is the madrasa of Itmīš/Aitmiš al-Bağāsī (index 250) [1].

[1] Ḥuǧǧāt Waqf al-Amīr Itmīš/Aitmīš al-Bağāsī, Awqāf 1143 Muqarrar, dated 797 H.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

	Position	Salary and Remunerations [1]
2	Hanafi Faqīh-s, teachers	
	a — Mudarris Awwal, morning	200 d.
	b — Mudarris Ṯānī, afternoon	150 d.
2	Hanafi Muʿīd-s	35 d.
28	Hanafi Students	30 d.
1	Hanafi Naqīb/Kātib Ġayba/Mufarriq Rubʿa	30 d.
1	Hanafi Ḫāzin al-Kutub	30 d.
1	Qāri'/Mādiḥ	30 d.
1	Tafsir/Hadith/Luġa ʿArabiyya teacher	100 d.
1	Mudarris talqīn Qur'ān	40 d.
1	Qāri' Mīʿād	40 d.
1	Ḥāfiẓ Qur'an/Murattil	50 d.
24	Qurrā' al-Qubba	
	14 Morning	25 d.
	10 Night	30 d.
1	Imām	150 d., 200 d. for Ramadan
3	Mu'aḏḏin-s/Mukabbir	33 ½ d.
2	Farrāš-s	40 d. [2]
1	Saqqa/Raššāš	30 d.
1	Bawwāb	60 d.
1	Mubaḫḫir	40 d. [3]
1	Muzammalātī	90 d.
15	Orphans	1/4 d. daily, 2 r. for bread, 7 ½ for clothing for year.
1	Mu'addib	50 d. 4 r. bread, 150 for clothing for year.
1	ʿArīf	30 d, 3 r. bread, 120 clothing for the year.
2	Qayyim	20 d.
1	Šādd	70 d.
1	Nāẓir	200 d.

From the preceeding appointments, it is clear that this madrasa was equally founded to promote the teachings of the Hanafi school of law, since the two *dār*-s offered were taught by two Hanafi Faqīh, and that all the students appointed were Hanafi-s.

It is not clear whether the remaining teachers had to be Hanafi-s since the waqfiyya is not explicit concerning their maḏhab. However, since there were no other students

[1] Salaries and stipends are paid in dirham nuqra (d.) and are distributed monthly. Bread is distributed daily.

[2] This amount includes expenses for equipment.

[3] This amount includes 10 d. for incense.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

appointed besides the 28 Hanafi-s, one can safely assume that they were the ones attending the various *dār*-s in the foundation. This last assumption would indicate that the teachers would preferably, but not necessarily be of the Hanafi maḏhab as well.

The specifics for the qualifications to be required from the two main teachers as well as the 28 students are of crucial importance to us since they reveal the purpose of the foundation. The waqfiyya states that the nāẓir (Controller) of the waqf is to appoint two *mudarris* (teacher) of the Hanafi maḏhab, conversant in the religious sciences of their school of law, *ʿālim*-s in the sciences pertaining to the Arabic language and its problems. Moreover, they must be *mutakallim bi'l-lisān al-ʿarabī wa'l-ʿaǧamī wa'l-turkī,* i.e. they are required to be fluent in three languages : Arabic, Persian and Turkish. Exceptionally, the document states that if they can't be fluent in the three languages, then they should know Arabic and one of the two languages mentioned above : *fa bi'l-lisān al-ʿarabī wa iḥda al-lisānayn al-maḏkūrīna fīḥī.*

The prerequisites of the fluency of two foreign languages is better understood in the light of the qualifications required from the students to be appointed in the madrasa. Indeed, the nāẓir is asked to appoint 28 students from the Hanafi maḏhab. They have to be poor, foreigners, immigrants to the Egyptian domains : *awāfida ġayr ahl al-diyār al-Miṣriyya.* Since the two foreign languages required are Persian and Turkish, we can assume that the students were coming from Iran and/or Anatolia [1]. The fact that they were immigrants would also indicate that they were not part of the *awlād al-nās* (sons of the military elite).

The appointments to the two madrasa-s examined above should by no means be regarded as exceptions, but rather as hailing the new climate of fanaticism which was strongly felt during the 15th century. Such fanaticism was indeed reported by historians of the time. Commenting on the madrasa of Sirġatmiš, Maqrizi writes : « He (Sirġatmiš), was handsome, he used to read the Holy Qur'ān and partake in the Fiqh of the Hanafi-s. He overstressed his fanaticism for his maḏhab and associated (himself) with ʿaǧam (Persians), honored them and held them in very high esteem » [2].

Maqrizi, who had turned from Hanafi to Shafi'i, frequently mentions the growing position enjoyed by the Hanafi-s. He thus reports that from the time of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī on, the fortune of the Hanafi-s was steadily growing [3].

[1] For more information on the pattern of migration into Cairo see : Carl Petty, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 61-72.

[2] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 405.

[3] Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* II-III, 367; *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 343-344.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

The policy of promoting the Hanafi maḏhab is self-evident if we consider Mamluk foundations of that period [1].

In 757/1356, Šayḫū al-ʿUmarī builds a ḫanqah/madrasa where the Hanafi-s are definitely given priority over the other maḏhab-s and where the control over the waqf-s was left in the hands of the Šayḫ al-Ṣūfiyya who was also the Hanafi teacher [2].

A few years later, emirs like Yalbuġā al-ʿUmarī, who was the atabek of al-Ašraf Šaʿbān (d. 778/1376) as well as the sultan himself, were said to have incited people to turn from Shafiʿi-s to Hanafi-s [3].

By the end of the Bahri period, it had become clear that rulers were determined to reserve the best and most prestigious positions within the academic sphere as well as outside it, not only to the Hanafi-s, but to Hanafi-s who were specifically foreigners.

When Barqūq built his ḫanqah/madrasa in the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (786-88/1384-86), he sent for Šayḫ Aḥmad al-Sayramī al-ʿağamī al-Ḥanafī, to become Šayḫ al-Ṣūfiyya and teacher of the Hanafi-s whose number was higher than that of the three other schools of law [4]. Al-Mu'ayyad Šayḫ also keeps the number of the Hanafi students higher than that of the other maḏhab-s and so does Barsbay [5].

The latter appoints Šayḫ ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAli al-Rūmī to be Šayḫ al-Ṣūfiyya and teacher al-Ḥanafiyya at the Ašrafiyya in 827/1424 [6]. When al-Rūmī decided to go back to his country, he was replaced by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Siwāsī in 829/1426.

As noted earlier, the preferential treatment enjoyed by the Hanafi-s during the Circassian period did not escape the attention of the historians of the time who would often allude to it. For Ibn Taġrībirdī, who was himself brought up at the court, the facts were clear : the Hanafi-s were the favorites of the Circassian Mamluks. In the obituaries of the year 804/1401, he refers to Šayḫ Sayf al-Dīn Lağīn b. ʿAbdallāh al-Ğarkasī, who had died at the age of 80. He comments that the Šayḫ was held in high esteem by the Circassians, who claimed that he owned the Egyptian territories. People, he says, claimed that if he were to rule Egypt, he would abolish the waqfs on mosques, burn books on Fiqh and punish the fuqahā'. He would also appoint to Egypt only one Qāḍi — a Hanafi one.

[1] This policy of promoting the Hanafi-s has been noted by A. Schimmel, « Some Glimpses of Religious Life Under the Late Mamluks », *Islamic Culture* IV, (1965), 353-392.

[2] Maqrīzī, *Ḫiṭaṭ* II, 321.

[3] *Ibid.*, 269.

[4] Ḥuğğāt Waqf al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, Maḥkama 51, dated 786 H; also Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/2, 835-837, al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Ğumān, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya,* ms. Tārīḫ 1584, vol. XXV/3, folio 53.

[5] Ḥuğğāt waqf al-Mu'ayyad Šayḫ, Awqāf 931, dated 823 H; Ḥuğğāt Waqf al-Ašraf Barsbāy, Maḥkama 173, dated 876 H.

[6] Al-ʿAyni, *ʿIqd al-Ğumān,* vol. 25/3, folio 556.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

He would select him from the Turks and not from the (local) fuqahā'. The elite listened to him and acted upon his words, as they still do [1].

The idea of appointing one Qāḍī from the Hanafi-s, or at least a Qāḍī al-Quḍāt who would be the equal if not higher in position than the Shafi'i, remained the cherished goal of the Circassians.

Maqrīzī reports that there were attempts to boost the position of the Hanafi Qāḍī al-Quḍāt by giving him some of the privileges enjoyed by the Shafi'i. One such attempt was made by Barqūq in 781/1379, when he appointed Ğalāl al-Dīn Ğār Allāh al-Ḥanafī to the position of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt with the privilege of wearing the *ṭarḥa* during the days of the *ḥidma*. In addition, he was invested with the power to delegate his deputies to the districts of Upper and lower Egypt, and was put in control of the orphans' monies. Apparently, all of the preceding deeply affected the Shafi'i Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Ğama'ā, who requested that the privileges be cancelled. A meeting was held in Barqūq's residence and the decision to cancel Ğār Allah's privileges was adopted. This, says Maqrīzī, was the second attempt made by the 'aǧam (Persians) to try to secure a high position for the Hanafi-s and extend the jurisdiction of their qāḍī-s, but they failed [2].

The resentment of the local religious elite, such as Maqrīzī, to the appointment of foreigners to various positions was often expressed by their open criticism of those appointees, especially that many of them did not know Arabic well. In an effort to make an excuse for such a flaw, Ibn Taġrībirdī answers the attack launched by Maqrīzī against the appointment of Šayḫ Naǧm al-Dīn 'Umar al-Harāwī to the position of *Kātib al-Sirr* (private secretary), in 827/1423. For him, Maqrīzī's attack stems from pure fanatacism and that in reality, the šayḫ was well-qualified although he was not familiar with the terminology of the Egyptian chancery. Despite the fact that he was not fluent in Arabic, as it was usually the case for Persians, he had been well trained by previous appointments and had held high positions in Persia as well as in Egypt [3].

The objection of the local religious elite to the appointment of foreigners was felt by some of those foreigners and occasionally led them to decline prominent positions. For instance in 782/1380, Barqūq sent for Šayḫ Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Tabbānī and offered him the position of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt of the Hanafi. The Šayḫ declined the offer, as he had previously done in the days of al-Ašraf Ša'bān, saying : « This position is not (to be held by a Persian) while Arabs are worthiest of it [4] ».

[1] Ibn Taġrībirdī, *al-Nuǧūm al-Ẓahīra* XIII, 27-28 (Cairo, 1929-80).

[2] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/1, 358.

[3] Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Nuǧūm*, XIV, 265-266.

[4] Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/1, 398.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

For a while the good fortune of the foreigners and namely Persians was halted because of the Timurid invasions of parts of the Mamluk empire. The anti-foreigner mood was at its height and by 803/1400 it was proclaimed that no Persians should (be permitted) to reside in al-Qāhira. They were given three days to leave the city, and threats were issued against those who would default. Yet, none of them left the city and people increased their grafiti writings, saying : « It is a victory for Islam to kill a Persian ! » [1].

Despite this temporary set back, by the reign of al-Mu'ayyad, things were forgotten and the Mamluks opened their arms even wider; more foreigners were appointed, not only to positions in Cairo, but in other parts of the Mamluk empire as well, which was even more significant to positions that had been customarily held by local religious dignitaries. One such position was that of *muḥtasib* of al-Qāhira, which was offered to Mankalibuġā al-ʿaǧamī in 816/1413. Ibn Iyās writes that he was the first Turk to occupy the *ḥisba* in al-Qāhira [2].

With Sultan Ṭaṭār, who was a staunch Hanafi fanatic, and Barsbāy, the position of the Hanafi-s and especially foreigners, had reached a new height [3]. It was to remain so up until the end of the Mamluk period and certainly thereafter.

At this point, it is perhaps proper to ask whether the sponsorship of the Hanafi maḏhab by the Mamluks was limited to Cairo, or whether it was equally extended to other regions of their empire. It is not clear whether the policy of promoting the Hanafi maḏhab through the foundation of madrasa-s or other religious institutions reserved for its teaching, extended to regions outside al-Qāhira. However, we do have some indications that it might have been the case. Indeed, there are some instances where waqf-s endowed on foundations outside the Mamlūk capital were specifically reserved for the Hanafi-s. One such instance is found in the waqfiyya of Itmiš al-Baǧāsī previously referred to. In the document, one reads that the founder reserves an annual sum of 3000 dirham-s from the total revenues of the waqf-s to pay for the salaries of a Hanafi teacher and seven Hanafi students appointed to the Ḥaram al-Šarīf in Mecca [4].

Although this endowment in itself does not represent enough evidence for the definite sponsorship of the Hanafi-s, some appointments to high positions in the administration are more revealing, especially when it has to do with the qaḍā' itself.

According to Maqrīzī, in 784/1382, Ḫayr al-Dīn al-ʿAǧamī, one of the Sufi-s of the ḫanqāh of Šayḫū was invested with power as the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafiyya* in al-Quds.

[1] Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Nuǧūm*, XII, 253.

[2] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ al-Ẓuhūr* II, 9 (Wiesbaden, 1972-77).

[3] Ibn Taġrībirdī, *Nuǧūm* XIV, 207.

[4] Ḥuǧǧāt waqf al-Amir Itmiš al-Baǧāsī, Awqāf 1143 Muqarrar, dated 797 H.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

Prior to his appointment, adds Maqrīzī. there was no Qāḍī al-Ḥanafiyya in al-Quds. The same year, Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-ʿAǧamī, also one of the Sufi-s of the ḫanqāh of Šayḫū was appointed as Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafiyya in Gaza, and according to Maqrīzī, there was no such known position there prior to his appointment [1]. Besides the fact that the position was an innovation, the other interesting detail which Maqrīzī's report points out is the fact that both qadis had been recruited from among the Sufi-s of the ḫanqāh/madrasa of Šayḫū, and consequently had been trained in Egypt. Some biographies of the Šayḫ-s indicate that students were coming from Iran or Anatolia to complete their education in Cairo. For instance, Šayḫ Ibrāhīm b. Illiyās b. ʿAlī Ǧamāl al-Dīn al-Aqsarā'ī had to come to Cairo with Šayḫ Šams al-Dīn al-Ayyīkī. He was later appointed to the position of Šayḫ al-Ṣūfiyya in the ḫanqāh of Malaṭia, and then returned to Cairo to occupy the position of Šayḫ al-Ṣūfiyya in the ḫanqāh of Fayyūm, after which he went to the East to be appointed in the Sivas [2].

Other šayḫ-s, who had been called upon to fill-in important positions outside Egypt, as well as in the Mamluk capital itself, had also received some training in the Cairene foundations.

In the obituaries of the year 799/1396, al-ʿAynī mentions the Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Ǧamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Qayṣarānī al-Ḥanafī, known as al-ʿAǧamī. He spoke Turkish and Persian besides Arabic, according to the historian, and had come to Egypt in the reign of al-Ašraf Šaʿbān and remained for a long time in the madrasa of Sirġatmiš as a student. He was then promoted to important positions with the help of emir Taštumur. Among the positions he held were : The *Ḥisba* in al-Qāhira, Qāḍī ʿAskar, and Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafiyya. He then simultaneously held the positions of Nāẓir al-Ǧayš and the Mašyāḫāt al-Šayḫuniyya. He also held a number of other important positions [3].

Another šayḫ, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Bakr al-Ṭarabulūsī, Qāḍī al-Quḍāt al-Ḥanafiyya, had come to Egypt after having studied Fiqh in his country. He came to al-Qāhira and was appointed as a student in the madrasa of Sirġatmiš. Subsequently, he was called upon to hold important positions [4].

The preceding cases underscore the importance of madrasa-s such as that of Sirġatmiš, and Šayḫū for the education of Hanafi foreigners. One is tempted to ask whether there

(1) Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* III/2, 480.

(2) Ibn Ḥaǧar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāmina* I, 19 (Cairo, 1966).

(3) Al-ʿAyni, *ʿIqd al-Ǧumān*, ms. 1584, vol. 19, folio 14.

(4) *Ibid.*, folio 16.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net

were madrasa-s or ḫanqāh-madrasa-s in al-Qāhira specifically intended to train certain individuals — in this case Hanafi foreigners — for high positions in the empire.

The existence of madrasa-s such as that of Itmiš al-Bagāsī, Sirġatmiš, Šayḫū al-'Umarī, as well as large royal foundations such as that of Barqūq, al-Mu'ayyad or Barsbay, which recruited their main teacher/head of their foundation, as well as the greatest number of their students from the Hanafi-s non-resident foreigners, suggest that this was perhaps the case.

The mere presence of these learning institutions however, indicates that the alien military class was determined first to change the structure of the civilian elite (probably to counter-balance the power of the local religious dignitaries and thus retain their control over the population), and secondly that the sultans as well as their emirs were eager to attract as many prominent scholars from other Muslim countries as possible, to their capital.

Finally, by attracting foreigners, namely scholars, to their capital, the Mamluks were making sure that al-Qāhira would remain as has been described by Ibn Ḫaldūn, the center of the Muslim world, and its sultan would then rightfully bear his title of *Sulṭān al-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn*.

AnIsl 23 (1987), p. 87-98 FERNANDES (Leonor)
Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya.
© IFAO 2017 AnIsl en ligne http://www.ifao.egnet.net